

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
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NODIS
CHEROKEE, DAR ES SALAAM FOR SPAIN

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA NEGOTIATIONS
PRETORIA FOR EDMONDSON AND LOW FROM MOOSE
1. FOLLOWINGIS DRAFT PAPER SETTING FORTH DEPARTMENT'S
VIEWS ON HOW WE MIGHT PROCEED FROM HERE WITH RESPECT TO
THE RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS. THE IDEAS CONTAINED IN THE
PAPER GREW OUT OF DISCUSSIONS WITH SECRETARY VANCE,
WARREN CHRISTOPHER, DAVE NEWSOM, TONY LAKE AND MYSELF
EARLIER IN THE WEEK. PAPER IS DESIGNED TO SERVE AS BASIS
FOR OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE BRITISH IN LONDON THIS
WEEKEND. WOULD APPRECIATE ON AN URGENT BASIS YOUR
COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS ON THE PAPER AND PARTICULARLY
EDMONDSON'S VIEWS ON HOW WE MIGHT ENGAGE SOUTH AFRICANS
MORE ACTIVELY IN OUR SETTLEMENT EFFORTS.

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2. BEGIN TEXT.

RHODESIA NEGOTIATIONS

WITH THE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SMITH/NKOMOMEEETING,
AND WITH THE FRONT LINE/PATRIOTIC FRONT MEETING, DIFFERENCES

HAVE INTENSIFIED. IF AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WERE HELD IN THIS ATMOSPHERE, IT MIGHT ACCOMPLISH LITTLE OTHER THAN TO DRIVE THE PARTIES AND THEIR SUPPORTERS EVEN FURTHER APART.

SUCH A MEETING SHOULD REMAIN OUR GOAL, EITHER TO NEGOTIATE OR TO ENDORSE A SETTLEMENT. BUT IT SHOULD NOT BE OUR IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE.

THE FRONT LINE STATES HAVE SUGGESTED THAT WE SEEK TO NARROW THE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE PARTIES BEFORE A MEETING TAKES PLACE; AND HAVE SAID THAT THEY WILL NOT SUPPORT A MEETING UNTIL THEY HAVE A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT SMITH IS WILLING TO AGREE TO SUBSTANTIVELY. THUS, IN THE COMING WEEKS, SHOULD THE UK BE FAVORABLE, THE UK AND U.S. SHOULD SEEK, IN CONVERSATIONS WITH THE RHODESIAN PARTIES, THE FRONT LINE AND SOUTH AFRICA, TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS ON KEY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES RATHER THAN PRESS NOW FOR AN EARLY ALL-PARTIES MEETING.

THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE SALISBURY EXECUTIVE COUNCIL SHOULD BE APPROACHED IN SUCH TALKS. HOWEVER, THE PRIMARY FOCUS MIGHT BE ON SECURING COMMON UNDERSTANDINGS BY SOUTH AFRICA AND THE FRONT LINE STATES ON WHAT WOULD CONSTITUTE A REASONABLE SETTLEMENT. AT THIS POINT, THEY SEEM MORE INTERESTED IN AVOIDING A GROWING CONFLICT AND LESS INTRANSIGENT THAN THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. THE KEY
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ISSUES SHOULD BE DISCUSSED WITH THEM.

THE UK/US INITIATIVE SHOULD BE BASED ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. IN LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS DEMONSTRATING THE DIVISIONS AMONG LEADERS AND HIGHLIGHTING THE DANGER OF CIVIL WAR, EMPHASIS SHOULD BE PLACED ON THE NEED FOR FAIR ELECTIONS TO RESOLVE THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER, AND ON THE IMPORTANCE OF EFFECTIVE PEACEKEEPING AND FORMATION OF ONE ZIMBABWE ARMY.

NKOMO MAY CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH SMITH. WE SHOULD CONSIDER THE LESSENERED UTILITY OF THIS IN LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS, AND ALSO THE CONSTRAINTS THOSE EVENTS MAY HAVE PLACED ON OUR ABILITY TO SUPPORT NKOMO/SMITH NEGOTIATIONS.

KEY ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED IN SHUTTLE TALKS COULD INCLUDE:

1. PEACEKEEPING
2. ELECTIONS MONITORING AND PROCEDURES (INCLUDING WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE ELECTIONS OR ONLY A REFERENDUM

BEFORE INDEPENDENCE)

3. POWERS OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER

ON THESE THREE, WE MIGHT TRY TO BUILD ON WHAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AGREED TO AT DAR, AND TO SECURE BASIC AGREEMENT ON A PEACEKEEPING FORCE, NEUTRAL ELECTIONS OBSERVERS, AND AN IMPARTIAL ADMINISTRATOR WITH SPECIAL AUTHORITY OVER LAW AND ORDER AND DEFENSE.

4. POWERS AND COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL

ON THIS WE WOULD WANT TO EXPLORE MORE FULLY THE ADVANTAGES OF A STRONG RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AS OPPOSED
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TO A STRONGER GOVERNING COUNCIL, AS WELL AS THE QUESTION OF PARITY REPRESENTATION FOR THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PARTIES. RECENT EVENTS HAVE MADE IT ALL THE MORE CLEAR HOW DIFFICULT IT WILL BE TO GAIN AGREEMENT ON THE COMPOSITION OF A GOVERNING COUNCIL THAT HAS STRONG POWERS.

5. PREVENTION OF CIVIL WAR: FORMATION OF ONE ARMY

6. CONTROVERSIAL CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES: PROVISIONS FOR WHITES

THESE SUBSTANTIVE TALKS COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR PROGRESS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT IN ONE OF THREE WAYS:

FIRST, THEY COULD LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR A SUCCESSFUL ALL-PARTIES MEETING. THEY MIGHT ACHIEVE SUFFICIENT NARROWING OF DIFFERENCES AMONG THE PARTIES THAT FULL AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED AT A MEETING. OR THEY MIGHT MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE BASIC AGREEMENTS ON KEY ISSUES AT AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING, WITH DETAILS TO BE WORKED OUT BY SUBSEQUENT WORKING GROUPS.

SECOND, THE TALKS COULD RESULT IN SUFFICIENT AGREEMENT AMONG SOUTH AFRICA AND THE FRONT LINE THAT THEY WOULD BE MORE PREPARED TO PUT SIGNIFICANT PRESSURE ON THE PARTIES TO SECURE A SETTLEMENT. AT SOME POINT, IF ALL OTHER ROUTES SEEM BLOCKED, THE UK AND THE US, HAVING DISCUSSED ALL THE MAJOR ISSUES WITH THE SURROUNDING STATES AS WELL AS WITH THE PARTIES, COULD PUBLISH A FINAL SET OF PROPOSALS. WE COULD INFORM SOUTH AFRICA AND THE FRONT LINE THAT OUR EFFORTS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT WOULD HAVE TO END UNLESS THE PARTIES AGREE TO THESE PROPOSALS. IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE IN THE REGION,
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SOUTH AFRICA AND THE FRONT LINE MIGHT THEN USE ALL THEIR INFLUENCE IN SUPPORT OF A SETTLEMENT.

THIRD, SUCH TALKS COULD PROVIDE A BASIS FOR ACTION ON A UNILATERAL OFFER BY THE JOC TO REVOKE UDI AND RESTORE

BRITISH CONTROL OVER RHODESIA. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO GET IMMEDIATE FRONT LINE AGREEMENT TO INSIST THAT THE PF OBSERVE A CEASEFIRE AND ACCEPT A SETTLEMENT. OBVIOUSLY, AT THAT POINT, THE FURTHER ALONG WE ARE WITH THE FRONT LINE ON THE ELEMENTS OF A SETTLEMENT, THE BETTER. WE MUST AVOID A SITUATION WHERE THE UK WOULD HAVE TO TAKE FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR RESTORING ORDER IN RHODESIA WHILE THE CONFLICT CONTINUED.

IF WE WISHED AT SOME POINT TO ENCOURAGE SUCH A DEVELOPMENT, ON THE CALCULATION THAT IT WOULD PRODUCE FRONT LINE AND PF AGREEMENT TO A CEASEFIRE AND SETTLEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS, WE MIGHT:

-- FIRST, DISCUSS THIS POSSIBILITY IN GREATER DETAIL WITH THE JOC;

-- THEN, TALK WITH THE FRONT LINE STATES. WE SHOULD NOT REVEAL TO THEM WHAT THE JOC IS CONSIDERING. BUT WE MIGHT SEEK CLEAR ASSURANCES OF THEIR SUPPORT IF THE UK WERE ABLE TO ASSUME AUTHORITY IN RHODESIA AND IMPLEMENT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. THEIR ASSURANCES WOULD BE NEEDED ON FULL SUPPORT FOR A) AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE, B) SECURING PATRIOTIC FRONT AGREEMENT TO AND COOPERATION WITH THE AAP (WITH WHATEVER MODIFICATIONS WE, THE FRONT LINE AND THE JOC MIGHT HAVE AGREED ON), AND C) UN ACTION TO SUPPORT THE UK REASSERTION OF RESPONSIBILITY INCLUDING THE PROVISION OF UN FORCES AS PART OF A SETTLEMENT. IT IS DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT THE FRONT LINE WOULD NOT
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BACK A RESUMPTION OF BRITISH AUTHORITY AND REMOVAL OF SMITH, ALTHOUGH THEY MIGHT STATE CONDITIONS; AND IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO THEM THAT THIS COULD NOT OCCUR WITHOUT THEIR COMPLETE COOPERATION IN ENDING THE CONFLICT.

-- WE WOULD PRESUMABLY SEEK THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS BY THE UN AT THE TIME BRITISH AUTHORITY WERE REASSERTED.

THIS, TOO, WOULD REQUIRE FRONT LINE SUPPORT, ALTHOUGH
IT SHOULD NOT BE RAISED WITH THEM IN ADVANCE. LEGALLY,
OUR VIEW IS THAT THE BRITISH COULD LIFT SANCTIONS
UNILATERALLY. UN ACTION WOULD, HOWEVER, BE PREFERABLE.
CHRISTOPHER

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